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ON THE DIALECTICS OF SOCIAL THEORY AND ACTION: A SYNTHESIS OF SIX MODELS OF COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT

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ABSTRACT

Two dominant theoretical perspectives--systems theory and conflict theory--can be seen to underlie major approaches to community intervention. This paper presents a conceptual linkage between models of intervention for planning and organizing as developed by Rothman and elaborated by Stockdale and major sociological theories of society. Two additional models are presented to address issues of management and administration. The six models are integrated into a typology which integrates the conflict and consensus theories of society in relation to the The result is a synthesis of six models for community engagement which is rooted in dialectically opposed theories of society, and which addresses the major functions of any system of organization--planning, organizing/implementation, and management.

Introduction

The inquiry into community intervention models to date has been practice-driven, with theory following the emergence of models in the field rather than vice versa. This paper suggests that two dominant theoretical perspectives which have evolved in Western thought can be seen to underlie major approaches to community intervention, and it presents an approach toward synthesis of models for theory and practice.

Prior to Jack Rothman's (1968) seminal article, the literature and practice of community intervention was directed primarily to community-based grassroots strategies emerging from community development approaches which emphasized educational methods and self-help projects. Rothman notes that in the 1960's a "social action" approach emerged in the civil rights and welfare rights movements associated with Saul Alinsky and the Industrial Areas Foundation, as well as the anti-Vietnam War movement and aspects of community action programs associated with the War on Poverty. Similarly, Perloff (1961) and Morris and Binstock (1966) articulate "social

planning" as an approach to community intervention. Hence Rothman's three models--locality development, social action and social planning. In the mid 1970's, Stockdale (1976) suggested that the social planning model should be bifurcated to reflect differences between more centralized and community-wide planning and community or interest-based "advocacy planning." This paper has four primary objectives: (1) To provide a conceptual linkage between the Rothman/Stockdale models of intervention and major sociological theories of society, (2) To create a typology which integrates the conflict and consensus theories of society in relation to the intervention models for planning and organizing, (3) To present two additional models of intervention which provide a basis for including management and administration in the framework developed herein, and (4) To examine the interrelationships of the models of management and administration to both the theories of society and the models of intervention. The result is a synthesis of six models for community engagement which is rooted in dialectically opposed theories of society, and which addresses major functions of any organization or system--planning, organizing-implementation, and management.

The Consensus And Conflict Theories Of Society

The consensus and conflict perspectives have deep roots in human thought. In Western philosophy and science, fundamental differences between Plato and Aristotle, Rousseau and Hobbes, and Weber and Marx, can be seen to revolve around the question of whether human societies are rooted in rationality, consensus and shared values, or whether they are characterized by subjectivity, conflict and constraint. Ralf Dahrendorf (1959) identifies the dialectical characteristics of the two competing macro-views of society. According to *consensus theory*, social order results from a dominant set of shared values. People create communities to promote common interests and to escape from the "nasty, brutish and short" life of the pre-civilized. This perspective, in turn, leads to an *integration theory of society* which suggests that society is a relatively stable equilibrium based on a consensus of shared values and common patterns of interaction. *Systems theory* tends to be associated with this perspective. The competing approach, *conflict theory*, asserts that social order is based on domination and constraint. Communities result from a survival of the fittest contest wherein the prize to the winners is the right to impose their will on others. This perspective, in turn, leads to a *coercion theory of society* wherein contending forces continually vie for domination and control: conflict and change are ubiquitous.

The theorist points out that these theories represent "two faces of society," and should be viewed as such. Each side focuses on certain aspects of the totality to explain certain phenomena.

Consensus or systems theory asks why societies hang together, and conflict theory asks why they change. Consensus theory tends to focus on the cooperative side of society. By focusing on shared values, voluntary compliance, consensus, and mutual benefit, society appears to be comprised of people who join together in a common venture. The results are integration, stability and equilibrium. The contrasting view of society observes that dissimilar interests and imbalances in power lead to the domination of some by others. This situation creates systems of stratification and hierarchy whereby some individuals and groups can control others, and they extract greater portions of social goods--class, status, power--for themselves. (We note, however, that the conflict theorists are the ones that give hope of change and of breaking out of systemic situations of stagnation, domination and coercion.) By being aware of both of these perspectives, we can approach the questions of change and stability with the understanding that each is but a "face" of the other. Reality reflects each face from the perspective of the viewer.

The following sections explore six strategies, or models, for directing and changing community systems and human services programs. The first four models of change address planning and organizing, and have been articulated previously by Rothman (1968, 1974) and Stockdale (1976), and will simply be summarized here. The last two models are developed herein to extend the previous works to encompass the fields of management and administration. Consideration of ideal types of planning, organizing-implementation, and management, in light of the consensus and conflict theories of society, provides a repertoire of perspectives with which to approach the analysis, development, operation and evaluation of community systems.

Two Models of Organizing And Implementation:

The experience and practice of community development and community organizing are similar to that required for implementation, for they address the *process* of placing new or revised programs or systems in communities. This comparison is based on the fact that it is necessary for those who intend to implement a program or reform (1) to gain the acceptance of those affected, (2) to gain access to those with influence over those affected, or (3) to acquire positions of power and influence themselves. Organizing and implementation involve *setting a program in motion or in place*. "Locality development" and "social action" are the two models of organizing identified by the Rothman/Stockdale typology.

Locality development conforms most closely to the consensus theory of society and is thus associated with traditional community development. It emphasizes self-help and concerted local action by the overall community. Implementation and change is seen as a

matter of communication among leaders and citizens (and planners) to gain an understanding of what needs to be done. Thus, the practitioner serves the *process* of facilitation of communications and interactions among all concerned. As stated by Rothman,

The basic change strategy involves getting a broad cross section of people involved in studying and taking action on their problems. Consensus strategies are employed, involving small-group discussion and fostering communication among community subparts (class, ethnic, and so forth). The practitioner. . . is especially skilled in manipulating and guiding small-group interaction. (Rothman, 1974, 34.)

Locality development thus assumes that the community is comprised of people who share values and orientations, and who subscribe to democratic processes of decision-making and control. President Lyndon Johnson's favorite phrase, "Come let us reason together," typifies this model. The contrasting model, *social action*, also emphasizes grassroots strategies, but it views the community as a hierarchy of privilege and power. The task, therefore, is to confront the community with a show of force to convince the authorities that change is in order. Rothman puts it this way:

The basic change strategy involves crystallizing issues and organizing indigenous populations to take action on their own behalf against enemy targets. Change tactics often include conflict techniques, such as confrontation and direct action--rallies, marches, boycotts (as well as "hard-nosed" bargaining). The practitioner. . . is skilled in the manipulation of mass organizations and political processes. (Rothman, 1974, 35)

The fundamental difference between the two models is clear: consensus vs. conflict. The overall goal of locality development is to enhance the relationship between the community power structure and its citizens. The means to this end is consensus-building through involvement of leaders and citizens in identifying and solving their problems. Consensus-building through small groups leads to increased well-being for the total community. This approach assumes that all parties have, or can come to have, common interests, and any differences are reconcilable through rational discussion and interaction.

The overall goal of social action, on the other hand, is to redress an imbalance of power between dominant and minority groups, and to gain allocations of resources for a segment or disadvantaged group. This model presumes that the power structure will not give up its benefits and privileges willingly. Thus, it is necessary to confront the power structure with a demonstration of

popular power to convince them to change. The social action model is appropriate where a community segment or disadvantaged group is involved. Locality development would be used where the entire community must, or could, be engaged to address a common need or problem. These two "faces" of grassroots action present most clearly the implications of the two theories of society for community practice.

Two Models Of Planning.

The Rothman/Stockdale view of social planning also specifies two models which can be associated with the conflict and consensus theories of society. Planning generally refers to formulation of ideas and/or actions into a scheme to accomplish some goal or objective. As understood in the profession, planning is a rational-technical process which is proactively directed to the design of strategy and tactics for the near or long term future. Planning may vary from a consensus-oriented, highly technical and rational process with full use of computer technology, mathematical models and cost-benefit analysis to conflict-oriented interest-driven planning based on experiential data-gathering and intuitive analysis. The two models of planning which reflect these approaches as identified by Stockdale (1976) are "traditional planning" and "advocacy planning."

Traditional planning conforms most closely to the idealist rational-comprehensive model of policy, and thus is associated with the consensus theory of society. It emphasizes broad goals related to the overall community and seeks to address substantive social problems--health, housing, justice, nutrition, etc. A community-wide plan for recreation or health based on an overall assessment of needs and problems would be typical. Traditional planning is based on the premise that our highly complex and technological postindustrial society requires technical experts to design and to anticipate the future. The contrasting model, *advocacy planning*, also utilizes technical skills and leadership, but tends to focus on subgroup or subcommunity problems--neighborhoods, disadvantaged groups, unserved or underserved segments of the community. Problem-solving is directed to reallocation of resources toward a particular segment or program area. Fact-gathering and analysis are fundamental, and are employed from an activist-advocate perspective. Advocacy planning would thus work for improved recreation, health care, nutrition, or community control of police, for example, in a particular neighborhood, or for a subgroup of the broader community.

Both types of planning tend to employ rational-technical technologies and to perform *task* goals, but from different community perspectives--overall, or subcommunity segment respectively. Advocacy planning, moreover, frequently employs process skills to mobilize affected citizens for support or implementation. The

advocacy planner sees the power structure as a target for action; thus there is a need to develop a power base for campaign or contest interactions with the authorities. Traditional planning, on the other hand, typically occurs within the power structure and is thus characterized by consensus tactics and rational presentation of "facts." Planners of both types rely on needs analysis, fact gathering, identification and evaluation of options and the design of programs and systems. "Let's get the facts and make a rational decision." Traditional planning emphasizes the preparation and presentation of the plan itself. Advocacy planning must focus not only on the plan, but the process of support for and acceptance of the plan by authorities. The former tends to assume that the plan will speak for itself; the latter must be an advocate for and partisan of the plan on behalf of the client group. Traditional planning views the plan as the end product to a much greater extent than advocacy planning which views the plan as a means to the end of redistribution of resources.

Traditional planning is most closely associated with the consensus theory of society, and thus relies on the existing power structure for support and implementation. Advocacy planning, in that it addresses community subgroups or segments, is in a conflict position, and thus requires campaign or contest tactics. The conflict theory of society thus provides the more appropriate perspective for the advocacy planner. It follows then that traditional planners are typically part of the overall community power structure. They are part of the 'machinery' of the authorities. Thus, they are in a *subordinant* relationship with the power structure. Advocacy planners, conversely, are typically part of an organization or subsystem which sees the overall power structure as a target of action. They are in a position which requires *engagement* of the authorities as a target of action. Traditional planners are specialists of the power structure; and advocacy planners are specialists directed to change of the power structure. The former perspective tends to assume a variable sum game (expanding resource base); while the latter would tend to view the political process as a zero sum game where the benefits for one party are usually at the expense of another. The traditional planner assumes that if the overall system is taken care of in a carefully planned, rational manner, then the parts will be taken care of as well. The advocacy planner presumes that competing interests will contend in the arena of action, and that the disadvantaged can influence the distribution of existing (scarce) resources if they are afforded the technical skills of planning. (Stockdale, 1976; Rothman, 1974)

Advocacy planning and traditional planning can thus be said to represent opposite ends of the planning continuum, and they tend to conform to the premises of the consensus and conflict perspectives respectively. A realistic plan will most likely have elements of both. Plans which have been incubated in a city planning department for a

year or more, however, may be completely unfamiliar to both community decision-makers and citizens. Hence there is often a need for the traditional planner to convince others of the feasibility and viability of the proposed course of action. Likewise, advocacy planners may find it useful to present technical data on how the overall community will benefit from her/his proposal.

Two Models Of Management.

Planning and organizing are key aspects of any organization or program. They deal primarily with the identification of possible directions for an organization and bringing people and groups together at the grassroots level for action. The 1970's, however, saw the emergence of social program administration and management as a "primary" field for social practice. It is appropriate, therefore, to complete our examination of approaches to intervention by developing models of management/administration to complement the Rothman/Stockdale typology. In fact, this aspect of organizational life may be most important for it addresses both the overall direction and control of an organization as well as relationships with environmental actors.

Management pervades systems and organizations. It provides the direction and control without which systems would fall apart. According to Simon (1948) management is the art of "getting things done," and "the manner in which the decisions and behavior of [production level] employees are influenced within and by the organization. Selznick (1966) adds that it is the way we "allocate tasks, delegate authority, channel communication, and find some way of co-ordinating all that has been divided up and parceled out." Rogers and McIntire (1983) emphasize "coordinating the collective activities of a group of individuals toward a set of goals." Moore (1982) suggests that "managers are to an organization as the mind is to a person." Mundel (1967), in a more extensive definition, focuses on "the performance of the task of designing, predicting the results of, providing the resources for, and controlling an integrated human-group activity, the related physical facilities and the interrelationships between these two when the activity concerns the creation and distribution of goods or services to meet an external objective." And Vickers' (1964) analogy suggests that "engineers are concerned with physical and chemical reactions, managers are concerned with the interactions of men." Gross (1964) summarizes the field as "getting things done through (or by) others." Management thus involves the direction and control of how the units of a system are organized and how they interact. Management entails both the external and the internal relationships which are vital to the operation of a system.

Such a management process sounds highly rational and scientific. And most of the literature on modern management and public administration follows the rational-comprehensive (consensus) model. Recent studies of both the management of community organizations and large corporations which experienced innovation and growth in a time of recession have led to examination of what successful managers actually do, compared to what the rationalist approach would say they ought to do. (Mayer and Blake, 1981; Peters and Waterman, 1982; Hyman, 1983; and Agor, 1984) This emerging debate in the field provides an opportunity to develop ideal type models in this area to parallel to those of the Rothman/Stockdale typology.

One model will be called the *bureaucratic management*, or the institutional management model--to reflect the consensus theory of society; and the other will be labeled *innovative management*, or the charismatic management model--to reflect the conflict theory of society. ("Innovative management" and "intuitive management" are other terms which are being used in the field, and which are related to the ideas in our second model.) Figure 1 identifies characteristics of the two models using categories similar to those of the Rothman/Stockdale typology. *Bureaucratic management* tends to occur in well-established organizations which are accepted in the community. Emphasis is on dealing with *routine operations and control of ongoing activities*. Thus, budgeting, personnel administration, supply logistics and supervision of line personnel predominate. Professionalism, efficiency and quantity are valued. Change is seen as being incremental, e.g., five percent a year. Operations are based on written regulations and procedures. Administrative and management personnel have well-established roles, and the line-staff distinction is clear. Established relationships with environmental organizations make for relatively "placid" interorganizational interactions.

Innovative management, or charismatic management, is most appropriate for new or changing organizations, and for situations where significant challenges from the environment occur. Emphasis is on goal setting and the control and direction of program or system design. Tactics require acquisitive operations to obtain resources, to develop a constituency, and to *create or reestablish a place in the organizational domain*. Change of the organization and its place in the community is the immediate goal of this model. A more collegial, "flat" organizational structure is typical; and administrative, management and other roles are often blurred and/or staff is multifunctional. More interpersonal, interactive and face-to-face relationships exist. Emphasis is on service to a target group, quality of the product, and perceived effectiveness. Establishment of relationships in the interorganizational domain and securing resources are major challenges. The next several paragraphs extend

Figure 1

Two Models of Management

PRACTICE VARIABLES	BUREAUCRATIC MANAGEMENT	MANAGEMENT OF INNOVATION
GOAL CATEGORIES OF COMMUNITY ACTION	Routine procedures and operations; status quo. Maintenance of existing organizational resources (task goals).	Establishment of a place in the organizational domain, or, adaptation to new environmental conditions (task and process goals).
ASSUMPTIONS CONCERNING COMMUNITY STRUCTURE AND PROBLEM CONDITIONS	Organization well established in interorganizational domain. Need to identify inefficient sub-units and problems within the organization.	Organization is not well established, or existence is threatened by other organizations. Need to gain support or acceptance in the interorganizational domain.
BASIC CHANGE STRATEGY	Change internal operations; systems improvement; rational-technical analysis.	Change the environment; systems design; interactive adjustment to environmental conditions, networking.
CHARACTERISTICS CHANGE TACTICS AND TECHNIQUES.	Authoritative direction; bureaucratic control.	Constituency Building; campaign or contest.
SALIENT PRACTITIONER ROLES	Budgeting, systems analysis, personnel management, information systems, accounting.	Negotiation (politician), grant and contract management, deemphasis on budgeting, etc. of routine and technical aspects of administration.
MEDIUM OF CHANGE	Manipulation of formal organizations; rational systems analysis concerning sub-units.	Manipulation of community processes and formal organizations; interactional processes concerning environmental actors.
ORIENTATION TOWARD POWER STRUCTURE.	Instrumental--a part of power structure. Power structure as employer.	Contention--power structure as target for acquisition of resources and power.
BOUNDARY OF CONSTITUENCY OR CLIENT SYSTEM.	Total community or community sub-system, or organization as subject.	New or threatened organization, sub-system or segment as constituency or collaborator.
ASSUMPTIONS REGARDING INTERESTS OF COMMUNITY SUB-PARTS.	Dominant interests are supportive. Consensus or competition perspective. Management and/or application of authority is required.	Conflicting interests challenge the organization from within. Need to establish space in the interorganizational domain. Conflict perspective--seeking authority, resources and power.

our discussion of these two models along the lines of the "practice variables" identified by Rothman (1974).

Goal Categories of Community Action. Bureaucratic management conforms most closely to what Van Gigh (1974) calls the "system improvement" approach; and innovative management uses a "systems design" perspective. The former tends to be *introspective*, looking inward for problems in subunits or processes. The emphasis of bureaucratic management is thus on task goals and maintaining the status quo within the broader community system. Organizations characterized by this approach have difficulty in responding to rapid change. Innovative management tends to be *extrospective*, concerned with the role of the organization in the broader community. As such, it is open to questioning its goals and to initiating conflict with community organizations. This strategy is most appropriate for organizations which are faced with major challenges from the environment, and those that desire to create change--both task and process goals are essential.

Assumptions Concerning Community Structure and Problem Conditions. Bureaucratic management is thus most appropriate for organizations which are well-established in the organizational domain. The challenge is to make the organization run more efficiently. The problem focus is on identifying inefficient sub-units and problems within the organization. Innovative management assumes either that the organization is not well established in the interorganizational network, or that its existence is threatened by other organizations. The primary problem focus is externally directed to resource acquisition and either establishing and protecting a place in the organizational domain or adapting to new, challenging environmental conditions.

Basic Change Strategy. The bureaucratic model emphasizes rational-technical analysis and would tend to favor quantitative techniques of systems analysis, cost/benefit evaluations, performance appraisals, management by objectives, and other techniques of internal accountability and organizational fine-tuning. The innovative management model emphasizes change in environmental conditions including both acquisitive activities and establishing legitimacy with other organizations, as well as conflict with external organizations to achieve its goals.

Change Tactics and Techniques. The bureaucratic model depends on heirarchical chain-of-command relationships compared to innovative management which would stress a more "flat" organizational structure and collegial staff relations. Thus the former would characteristically emphasize bureaucratic control, focused inwardly, compared to the latter which, in focusing on its environment, would emphasize constituency-building and other campaign or contest tactics as appropriate.

Salient Practitioner Roles. The former model would emphasize the rational-technical techniques of budgeting, systems analysis, personnel management, information systems and accounting. The latter could not do without some skills in the organization to deal with these roles, but would place major emphasis on program design and development, negotiation with community and political elites and networking. One would look for staff skilled in analysis for bureaucratic management, and for integrative and synthesis perspectives for innovative management.

Medium of Change. The bureaucratic model relies primarily on manipulation of formal organizations. Innovative management relies on manipulation of community processes and formal organizations. The former uses rational analytic processes. The latter depends on interactional processes concerning environmental actors.

Orientation to the Power Structure. Consequently, the orientation of the bureaucratic management model to the *power structure* is *instrumental*--the organization is part of the existing power structure and/or is well established in the interorganizational network. While most likely the organization is in a competitive relationship with others, the total community status quo is supported and supportive. This consensus theory situation contrasts sharply with that of innovative management where a new or threatened organization is in *contention* with the status quo for *authority, resources and power*. In the former, we would expect dominant interests to be relatively supportive.

Boundary of Constituency or Client System. The bureaucratic model views its organization as an integral part of the total community. It serves a continuing role in the overall community and is a part of the existing systemic equilibrium. The innovative model views its organization as a sub-system or segment in contention with the broader community, or elements therein.

Assumptions Regarding Interests of Community Sub-Parts. For the bureaucratic model, dominant community interests are supportive. Bureaucratic management can thus focus inward to improve its efficiency in producing products or services. Hence the relationship of this model to the consensus theory of society. In the innovative management model, attention must be given to survival and change--which requires a conflict approach to action.

A recent application of this dialectical approach to management theory and action is included in a recent article by Carroll, Fritschler and Smith (1985) who present a typology of "supply-side" and "demand-side" managers. Their article provides an extended application of the scheme to the Reagan administration. In their typology, supply-side management generally parallels this discussion of bureaucratic management, and demand-side management is similar to the innovative model.

The two management models complete our repertoire of ideal type models of community engagement. *The six models, or approaches to change, provide a basis for a conceptual understanding of the major aspects of policy making and action.* The development and selection of optional courses of action, strategies, provides a proactive basis on which to initiate present actions and to anticipate future decisions. Transformation of a plan from idea to action requires careful consideration of the methods of engagement of both citizens and leaders in a community. Finally, the management of the process requires skill and wisdom in getting things done by, or through, others. Each of the stages--planning, implementation and management--is essential to the continued existence of specific programs and systems, and for the overall network of community systems and human services.

Situational Relativity: Mixing Strategies in The Real World

Strategies are not executed in isolation. And only rarely is the pure form appropriate in real-world situations. Rather, strategies should be "mixed and phased" as appropriate for specific scenarios. Figure 2 presents a refinement of Stockdale's framework for analyzing change strategies at the community level. (Stockdale, 1976) Interrelationships among strategies can be made on both horizontal (left-right) and vertical (up-down) dimensions. This chart allows us to compare relative similarities and differences among the strategies on the several practice variables.

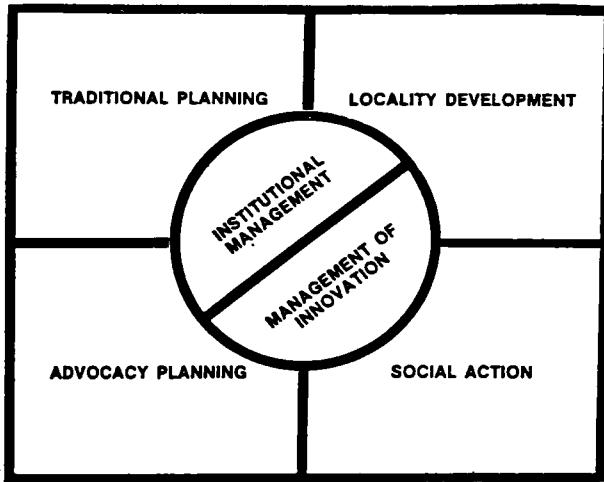
On the *horizontal* dimension, the more rational-technical and task-oriented strategies appear on the left. Institutional (bureaucratic) management and the two planning strategies tend to be technological and office-bound, relying more on analyses, reports, etc., than the other approaches. Locality development, social action and innovative management place more emphasis on community processes and interactions--they can be said to be more interpersonal and community-bound.

On the *vertical* dimension, the strategies depicted at the top of the chart tend to have a consensus-based approach to change and the strategies on the bottom are oriented to the conflict perspective. Thus, social action, advocacy planning and innovative management generally address a community segment or subpopulation, and are most likely to use conflict and contest strategies. Locality development, traditional planning and bureaucratic management tend to view the overall community as their constituency, and, in turn to rely on collaborative strategies.

Now consider the strategies in relation to the policymaking process--the political system. The strategies on the *top* of the chart tend to be most appropriate for use by those in power--the

Figure 2

INTERRELATIONSHIPS AMONG MODELS



authorities--and those who collaborate with the power structure. The strategies on the *bottom* are more appropriate for those not in power but who are seeking change by the authorities, and those who are seeking a role in the power structure. The goal of these latter strategies is to make *effective demands* on the authorities. For example, a city planner may devise a nutrition program for the city health department. He/she works for and presents the plan to the city authorities. A neighborhood planner, however, in working for a specific subarea may prepare a nutrition plan which is directed to convincing the city to alter their plan to provide more or different services to the neighborhood. The former involves a process *within* the power structure to decide what actions to take in the overall community. The latter involves a process *external* to the power structure directed to creating an *input* to the deliberations of the city authorities.

The example above illustrates the differences in focus of the two models, and it raises the issue of boundaries and system levels. Note that if the city planner is preparing a plan to be presented to higher authority--state or federal levels, for example--there is a completely different role: the perspective changes. ("Where you stand depends upon where you sit.") Likewise, a neighborhood planner working with his/her own local funds on a neighborhood plan is in a service allocation, not a resource acquisition role. Focus thus shifts to relationships with the immediate community, rather than convincing an external power structure to support the plan.

The chart also enables us to consider compatibilities between strategies and the possibility of shifting from one to another. *Adjacent strategies*, those that share a common boundary on the chart, can be seen as a continuum of possible actions. In action situations, shifting from one strategy to another may be appropriate. (Stockdale, 1976) An advocacy planner, for example, if successful in convincing the authorities that a plan (for a segment) is good for the entire community, may find the plan transformed into a community-wide "traditional planning" document. Similarly, if a group using locality development as a strategy encounters resistance from the authorities, it may find itself in a social action situation. Understanding these interactions is important for the community practitioner for it establishes a broad range of strategies in his/her repertoire (instead of just six). Most importantly, this discussion emphasizes the interactive nature of community action and change. If strategies are not modified to reflect changing community and environmental conditions, they will rapidly become obsolete and fail.

Note too that the two management strategies are placed on a diagonal to the other four. This arrangement recognizes the fact that bureaucratic, or institutional, management is most generally associated with the more technical and/or total community strategies: locality development, traditional planning and advocacy planning. Recall also that innovative management is appropriate both for new organizations, for those dealing with a segment, and for existing organizations which are facing an external challenge. Thus, a new organization using a locality development strategy would be likely to choose innovative management; and we would expect a shift toward bureaucratic management as the organization becomes established in the community. Similarly, a traditional planning organization using bureaucratic management, when faced with funding cuts from external authorities could be expected to shift to an advocacy planning mode and to utilize innovative management strategies. Note too that social action does not share a boundary with institutional management and traditional planning; and traditional planning does not share a boundary with innovative management and social action. These pairings tend to be unlikely as explained below.

Another principle which is illustrated on Figure 2 is that *nonadjacent strategies*, those on a diagonal across from each other, tend to be *incompatible*. The most conflict-oriented strategy, social action, would tend to be incompatible with the most consensus-oriented strategies--traditional planning and bureaucratic management. While variations across all dimensions of the six models should be available as options for every action situation, it should be recognized that successful mixing and phasing of the nonadjacent approaches is less likely. Likewise, locality development, which uses group, consensus-oriented approaches to the overall community; and advocacy planning, which emphasizes rational-

The chart is arranged in a pyramid which is suggestive of the levels of the policymaking system: community, regime and authorities. *Community* is where needs and problems occur and where the outputs and impacts of policies and programs are felt. Interests are articulated and aggregated at this level; and it is where programs must be implemented. Thus, as indicated in the chart, the organizing and implementation strategies would be most dominant here. At the intermediate level, where the staff planning and administrative roles tend to occur, we find the planning strategies. The development of data to support decisions and options for dealing with problems and needs, for evaluating impact, and for designing new approaches tend to occur at this level. Finally, the authorities are responsible for the overall direction and control of the organization, program or system.

Consider these levels in light of the "system within system" principle. The pyramid can be seen to apply at all levels of a community system: within a specific program, the relationship of a program to the environment, and in the overall community. A neighborhood mental health clinic, for example, might well have grassroots strategies involving consultation and education for local self-help. It would nevertheless need to have planning and management functions performed in the organization. Direct line staff at the street-level would tend to be organizationally at a lower level than staff planners and program managers. The entire organization, however, would be at a "lower" level in the vertical hierarchy of the overall community than a city-level mental health planning agency. The latter, in turn, would be subordinated to the city manager and Council. Constant attention to the boundaries of inquiry and the focal system is necessary to avoid misdirection and misunderstanding. A principle of "*situational relativity*" could be said to apply to this phenomenon: the type of strategy which is most important changes with the situation in the community-organizational hierarchy.

Note too that the strategies are arranged to suggest a continuum at each level. Grassroots *organizing and implementation* strategies range from locality development to pure social action. *Planning* strategies vary from idealized traditional planning to advocacy planning. *Management* strategies span a continuum from an ideal-type bureaucratic management to innovative management.

Any organization has a full range of strategies on which to draw to pursue its goals, and to respond to changing environmental conditions. Consider the situation of a neighborhood group which has the support of some, but not all of the authorities for a community-wide transportation program for the aged. The group could be considered to be in a situation calling for a locality development strategy based on the community-wide character of the issue. On the other hand, there are two segmental characteristics to the constituency (neighborhood and an elderly quasi-group) which would

suggest a social action approach. The organization would be wise to use different tactics in working with neighborhood citizens and proponents of the aged throughout the community than with the opposing authorities and their supporters. The choice of planning and management strategies would be crucial as well. Expenditure of considerable resources for technical planning documents and analytical approaches to management would most likely not be well received by neighborhood residents and the aged who would rather see more action and less bureaucratic obfuscation. City authorities, however, would expect professional presentations and carefully completed documentation. Finding the correct balance among the six strategies is a task for which successful leaders are recognized.

A comparable "mixed strategy" situation would exist in a scenario in which traditional planners in a justice agency find opposition in management circles or among community residents. It would appropriate to consider some advocacy planning practices to work with community groups and to convince the authorities of the validity of the plans. At the highest level, an established organization using a bureaucratic management model might be confronted with opposition in the community or budget cuts from external funding sources; the need to revise its strategy to use some innovative management, and perhaps a bit of advocacy planning is apparent. Mayer and Blake's (1981) study of neighborhood development organizations found that managers who focused inwardly and favored the more technical processes were not as effective in establishing and managing neighborhood organizations where there was intense interorganizational competition for resources. Rather, those managers who employed interpersonal skills and more collegial staff relations, as with the innovative management model, tended to be more successful.

Finally, note that the two sides of the pyramid conform generally to the primary theories of society. The strategies on the left side tend to be consonant with the *consensus theory* and the strategies on the right side conform to the principles of the *conflict theory*. This brings us full circle. We have explored approaches which allow the interrelation of the fundamental paradigms of Western philosophy and social theory to models of action for planning, organizing/implementation, and management. These concepts, processes and models occur in community systems; they are essential to the formulation and implementation of policies to establish, direct and regulate community systems and human services. Continued development of *analytical* knowledge of the application of the models in community settings will provide the basis for the *synthesis* of more complete theories and strategies of community and change.

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PRACTICE VARIABLES	TRADITIONAL PLANNING	ADVOCACY PLANNING
MEDIUM OF CHANGE	Manipulation of data and formal organizations.	Manipulation of data and program support by client population.
ORIENTATION TOWARD POWER STRUCTURE.	Subordinant: power structure as employers and sponsors.	Engagement: power structure as target for action.
BOUNDARY OF CONSTITUENCY OR CLIENT SYSTEM.	Total geographic community, or sub-system as consumers or recipients.	Community segment--attempts to co-opt power structure to client goals.
ASSUMPTIONS REGARDING INTERESTS OF COMMUNITY SUB-PARTS.	Common interests, or reconcilable differences.	Conflicting interests which are not easily reconcilable; scarce resources.

Adapted from Rothman (1974), figure 1.1.

figure 2 (continued)

LOCALITY DEVELOPMENT	SOCIAL ACTION	BUREAUCRATIC MANAGEMENT
Manipulation of small task oriented groups; community meetings.	Manipulation of community groups, mass organizations and political processes.	Manipulation of formal organizations; rational systems analysis concerning sub-units.
Collaboration: leaders and citizens working in a common venture.	Confrontation: power structure as target of action, oppressors to be coerced or overturned.	Instrumental--a part of power structure. Power structure as employer.
Total geographic community as beneficiary and participants.	Community segment as collaborators and participants.	Total community or community sub-system, or organization as subject.
Common interests or reconcilable differences; variable sum game.	Conflicting interests which are not easily reconcilable; zero sum game.	Dominant interests are supportive. Consensus or competition perspective. Management and/or application of authority is required.

MANAGEMENT OF
INNOVATION

Manipulation of
community pro-
cesses and for-
mal organiza-
tions;
interactional
processes con-
cerning environ-
mental actors.

Contention--power
structure as
target for
acquisition of
resources and
power.

New or threat-
ened organiza-
tion, sub-system
or segment as
constituency or
collaborator.

Conflicting
interests chal-
lenge the organ-
ization from
within. Need to
establish space
in the interor-
ganizational
domain. Con-
flict perspec-
tive--seeking
authority,
resources and
power.

Planning Models

PRACTICE VARIABLES	TRADITIONAL PLANNING	ADVOCACY PLANNING
GOAL CATEGORIES OF COMMUNITY ACTION	Problem-solving with regard to broad, substan- tive community problems (task goals).	Problem-solving with regard to sub-community problems, shift- ing of resources (task or process goals).
ASSUMPTIONS CONCERNING COMMUNITY STRUCTURE AND PROBLEM CONDITIONS	Substantive over- all social problems: health, housing, income, trans- portation, envi- ronment, etc.	Disadvantaged populations, social injus- tice, inequity, unserved seg- ments in social problem areas.
BASIC CHANGE STRATEGY	Needs analysis and rational- technical pro- gram design for the overall com- munity.	Needs analysis and rational- technical pro- gram design to represent inter- ests of a seg- ment or sub-po- pulation.
CHARACTERISTICS CHANGE TACTICS AND TECHNIQUES.	Consensus. Rational presen- tation of "facts."	Campaign or con- test. Interest- oriented presen- tation of facts.
SALIENT PRACTITIONER ROLES	Fact-gatherer and analyst, program implem- enter, facilita- tor.	Fact-gatherer and analyst, plus organizer, advocate, parti- san.

Figure 4
Is of Community Engagement

Organizing Models		Management
LOCALITY DEVELOPMENT	SOCIAL ACTION	BUREAUCRATIC MANAGEMENT
Developing community capacity and integration; self-help (process goals).	Change in power relationships and resource allocations; basic institutional change (task or process goals).	Routine procedures and operations; status quo. Maintenance of existing organizational resources (task goals).
Lack of relationships and democratic problem-solving capacities; static community.	Disadvantaged populations, social injustice, inequity, unserved segments.	Organization well established in interorganizational domain. Need to identify inefficient subunits and problems within the organization.
Involvement of citizens and leaders in identifying and solving their own problems.	Articulation and aggregation of issues, and organization of people to take action against power structure; demands on or take-over of larger system.	Change internal operations; systems improvement; rational-technical analysis.
Consensus building; communication among leaders and citizens; group processes.	Confrontation, direct action, advocacy; conflict or contest.	Authoritative direction; bureaucratic control.
Enabler-catalyst; coordinator; educator for problem-solving and democratic ethics.	Activist, advocate, agitator, broker, negotiator, partisan, politician.	Budgeting, systems analysis, personnel management, information systems, accounting.

it Models

MANAGEMENT OF
INNOVATION

Establishment of a place in the organizational domain, or, adaptation to new environmental conditions (task and process goals).

Organization is not well established, or existence is threatened by other organizations. Need to gain support or acceptance in the interorganizational domain.

Change the environment; systems design; interactive adjustment to environmental conditions, networking.

Constituency Building; campaign or contest.

Negotiation (politician), grant and contract management, deemphasis on budgeting, etc. of routine and technical aspects of administration.